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A
Chronological Account
Of the LIFE of
PYTHAGORAS,
AND OF +
Other Famous Men
His Contemporaries.

With an
Epistle to the R^d Dr. BENTLEY,
+
ABOUT
+
Porphyry's and Jamblichus's
+
Lives of Pythagoras.

By the Right Reverend Father in God,
William, L^a B^p of Coventry and Lichfield.

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THE
LIVES OF

JOHN DE Witt
AND

JOHN DE Witt
AND

JOHN DE Witt
AND

JOHN DE Witt
AND

To the Reverend

Dr. BENTLEY.

SIR,

YOU are pleas'd to ask my Opinion concerning the time of the Birth and Death of Pythagoras, and of the chief Passages of his Life; and also of the Lives of other famous Men his Contemporaries. I am sure you know these things better than I; and therefore you need not come to me for Information. But if you have only a mind to know my opinion of these matters, I can't deny you that: and in truth that is all I can tell you of that great Philosopher. Not but that I have by me every thing that I observ'd concerning Pythagoras, when I read the old Greek and Latin Authors; and to satisfy your desire, I have put my Collections in order to draw out a Chronological Account of his Life, if it were possible. But now they are here before me, I know not well what to make of them; they look like Moon-shine in rough Water, all over Discord and Confusion: Out

of which I am so far from making out that which I design'd, a perfect Account of his Life, that I must confess, I can't do any thing towards it. There is not in all my Collection, any one certain year in which any thing happen'd to him, or was done by him.

Yet I cannot lament that great Man's misfortune in this, nor ours neither: for as he was a perfect Jugler, so his Life, being all fast and loose, I must needs say, is written worthy of himself: and it is not only come intire into our hands, notwithstanding those defects I have mention'd; but with many Improvements by later Writers, who have striven to out-do one another in Stories to his Honour and Praise.

* Jonsius
de Script.
Hist. Phi-
los.

Of those * many eminent Writers that have employ'd their Pens on this Subject, there are three that have given us his History at large; Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry and Jamblichus. These three, I believe, have cull'd out all that was remarkable in any of the rest: and the two last were his great Admirers who would not omit anything that might make for his Glory.

They describe him as a very extraordinary Person, for his Parts and Inventions for the good of Mankind: they tell us what Discoveries he made in natural Philosophy: how much he advanced the Mathematical Sciences, as well by his Studies as his Travels. But
above

above all, they magnifie his knowledge of the Gods, and of the things of Religion. VIII, 2. Laertius tells us, he was initiated in all the Sacred Rites, as well of the Greeks, as Barbarians. Those other Writers of his Life take particular notice of this in every Stage of his Travels. And yet Porphyry will not let his Reader be ignorant, that Pythagoras was a Deist, as well as himself; and took both Apollo and Jupiter for no other than deify'd Men, which he shew'd by the Verses that he made in those places where he was to see their Sepulchres. Indeed by those Verses one cannot but think that he despised those made Gods in his Heart: and so did probably those Philosophers that tell us these things; though, according to the latitude of their Principles, they were nevertheless as zealous as he was for the propagating of Heathen Idolatry.

What Notions men have of a Deity, one cannot better judge than by their Morals. For every one that hath any sense of Religion will endeavour to conform himself to the God whom he worships: At least he will avoid any thing that he knows to be contrary to his God. If we judge this way of Pythagoras, according to the accounts they give of him, we have reason to believe, that (as the Apostle tells us of them whom the Heathens worship'd) his Gods were no better than Devils. It

could be no otherwise, if there be any truth in the stories they tell, of his impudent Diabolical Fictions, and of the fraudulent ways that he took to make the people admire him: which they also that tell us these things seem to think were no lessening of his Moral Virtues.

Particularly, they shew how he persuaded his Hearers to receive that Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls. That it was originally an Egyptian Doctrine we are told by Herodotus. But if lying Philostratus may be believ'd, the Egyptians had it from the Bramins. It is agreed, that Pythagoras was he that first brought it into Greece; and there it seems he had a mind to be thought the first Author of it. To make the people believe this, he told them an impudent Lye, that his Soul was in Euphorbus at the time of the Trojan War; and in the six hundred years between that and his Birth, his Soul had pass'd through several other bodies before it came into his. He faced them down that he knew this by a singular gift of remembering all the Stages through which his Soul had pass'd in its Travels.

First, When Euphorbus was kill'd by Menelaus, (which was in the year before Christ 1185) then his Soul, as he said, came into Ethalides the Son of Mercury. After his death, it came into Hermotimus: then into

one

Herod. ii.
Diod. Sic.
Philostr.
vit. Apoll.
Ty. iii. 6.

Porph. p.
188.

one Pyrrhus a Fisherman; and at last it came into Pythagoras. This is Porphyry's way of telling the Story. Porph. p. 201.

But from others we have it, that Pythagoras himself used to say, That his Soul was in Æthalides before it came into Euphorbus. Schol. in Sophoclis Electram.

And for this, they give us the Authorities of them that had reason to know things of him much better than Porphyry; namely, Diog. Laertius saith it from Heraclides, that lived near the time of Pythagoras; and another from Pherecydes, the most intimate Friend of Pythagoras. They tell their story with particulars worth knowing, if there were any truth in it. As namely, How Pythagoras came by the gift above-mention'd: They tell us, that Mercury, whose office it was to carry Souls into Hades, gave the Soul of his Son Æthalides in its way thither, the privilege not to drink the Waters of Lethe, the drinking whereof makes Souls forget all that pass'd in this world; and so it is plain, how, as Pythagoras used to say, Euphorbus remembred his Soul had dwelt formerly in the body of Æthalides and Hermotimus, that his Soul was in both these, and the Fisherman that his Soul was in those three, and Pythagoras, that his Soul was in them all. They also tell us, how it came to pass, that in six hundred years that Soul of his was only in two bodies, namely, of Hermotimus

Diog. Laert VIII. 4.
Schol. in Apoll. Argonaut I.

D. Laert. VIII, 4

D Laert.
VIII. 14.

and the Fisherman: for Mercury, as Pythagoras himself used also to say, gave the Soul of his Son Æthalides leave to rest sometimes in Hades, and at other times to travel above-ground; and so Pythagoras himself said, that after the Fisherman's death, his Soul had rested 207 years in Hades, before it came into that body of his.

Porph. p.
191.
Jambl. c.
28.

But what of all this? The Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls is sufficiently proved, if the Soul of Pythagoras was at any time formerly in the body of Euphorbus. And that, as Porphyry tells us, was positively affirm'd by Pythagoras himself, and prov'd beyond dispute; as likewise his Scholar Jamblichus tells us in the very same words. But these Philosophers were wise; they took care to hide that part of their Ware which would have disgrac'd all the rest. It was the Ægyptian Doctrine, that Souls pass'd out of men into Beasts, and Fishes, and Birds. This also, according to Heraclides, Pythagoras used to say of himself; that he remembered, not only what Men, but what Plants, and what Animals his Soul had pass'd thorough. And, tho' this was more than Mercury gave to Æthalides, Pythagoras took upon him to tell many others how their Souls had lived before they came into their bodies. One particularly that was beating a Dog, he desir'd to forbear, because in the yelping of that

Herod. II.
Diog. Laert from
Heraclides.

Porph. p.
191.

that Dog, he heard a Friend's Soul speak to him. So Empedocles, that lived in the next Age after Pythagoras, and was for a while the Oracle of his Sect, declared of himself, that he had been, first a Boy, then a Girl, then a Plant, then a Bird, then a Fish. Apollonius had the same Impudence, if Philostratus may be believed: who tells us, he own'd that his Soul was formerly in the Master of a Ship; he shew'd one young Man that had in him the Soul of Palamedes, another of Telephus, both kill'd at the time of the Trojan War; and in a tame Lion that was carried about for a sight, he said there was the Soul of Amasis King of Egypt. How could such Fictions as these come into Men's heads? There is more than idle Fancy in them. They shew plainly a pernicious Devilish design, to confound those two Doctrines that have so great an influence into Men's minds, to make them do good, and eschew evil: the Doctrines of the Immortality of the Soul, and of the Resurrection of the Body. For if those Fictions were true, there would be no difference between the Soul of a Man, and the Soul of a Brute, or a Plant; and there would be many more Bodies than there would be Souls to animate them at the Resurrection. What would not the Devil give to have these things believ'd by all Mankind?

For

D. Laert.
VIII. 36.Philostr.
III. 707.
VI. 18.
V. 15.

To the Reverend Dr. Bentley.

For the Tricks they tell us he had to make the People admire him, they are so agreeable to his Character, that his Historian Jamblichus, with the same Design, Aped him in some of them; unless he is bel'y'd by Eunapius the Writer of his Life. They were, as one may properly call them, the Artifices of an Impostor. Mahomet, the greatest that ever was of that sort, when he set up to be a Prophet, though it is not likely that he had ever heard of Pythagoras, yet took the very same Methods that He did to impose upon Mankind. This will appear in several of the following Instances, if any one will take the Trouble to compare them with those that are in Mahomet's Life.

Diog. La-
ert. VIII.
41. from
Hermip-
pus.

The first thing, we read Pythagoras did, to make way for the Authentical publishing of his Doctrines, was to make himself look like a sort of Damiged to the People. For this purpose, he provided himself a Cell under ground; and then, giving out he was dead, he retir'd into that Hole: and there for a long time together, seven Years, as some tell us, he lived unknown to all Mankind. Only his Mother was in the Secret, for she was to supply him with Necessaries: but of these, he took in no more than just what would keep him alive. Then at last, he came forth like a perfect Skeleton; and shewed himself as one that had been all this while in another World.

He

He that was so greedy of vain Glory, that he could afford to purchase it at this Rate, would not spare his Pains, or refuse any Help, to get into Possession of his Purchase. And for this, it being requisite he should do things above the Power of any Mortal, therefore of such things, true or false, they tell us not a few in his Life.

Some of the Fathers have said that he wrought them by Compact with the Devil. But I see no Necessity of that; for he had other ways by which other Men have obtained the same of working Miracles. He was doubtless both a natural Philosopher, and a great Mathematician. He understood all the Secrets of the Egyptians and Chaldeans. And having many Disciples on those Accounts, it seems very likely that he might act in Confederacy with them. This at least they could do for him; they might help devise Stories of the Miracles that he wrought: and then, for their own Credit as well as his, they would be industrious to spread them among the People.

Such Lies they were, I do not doubt, that Porphyry and Jamblichus tell us, of his laying Winds, Tempests, and Earthquakes; for of these they do not give any particular Instance, nor are these things mentioned by any other Writers that I remember. So likewise they tell us of his curing Diseases, whether

Chrylost.
Hom. II.
in Joh.
Cyril. in
Julian. III.

Porph.
p. 193.
Jambl.
c. 28.

P. 194.

Porph.

p. 191, 192.

Jambl.

c. 28.

Porph. ib.

& Jambl.

c. 13. Jam-

bl. c. 28.

Porph.

p. 190.

ther of Body, or Mind, which, they say, he did with Charms: that is, as Cyril saith, he did them by the help of the Devil. For his bearing the Musick of the Spheres, that Porphyry speaks of as a wonderfull Harmony, now we know this is a Lye framed upon a false Imagination. But if this were true, being an invisable Miracle, and impossible to be proved, it could not be made use of to prove any thing else. Many other lying Wonders they tell of him, which seem to have been made only for Talk, being such as could signifie nothing to the good of Mankind. As namely, how to shew his Company what he could do, he took up Serpents, that had killed other Men, and handled them, so as that they neither hurt him, nor be them. How for the same purpose, by whistling to an Eagle that happen'd to fly over his Head, he brought her down to his Hand, and then let her go again. Another time seeing some Fisher men at their draught, he foretold them the exact Number of Fishes that their Net should bring up; and when they were told, hrew them in again. How by stroaking a Bear, and whispering a Bull in the Ear, he brought them both to the Pythagorean Diet: the Bear to eat nothing that had life; and the Bull to crop no more Bean-tops. How he spoke to a River that he was passing over with many of his Friends,

and

and it answer'd him again in all their Hearings, Good morrow Pythagoras. But this goes beyond all the rest, if there be any Truth in it; that when Abaris had been all over Greece to beg Money for the Temple of his God Apollo Hyperboreus; at last, in an evil hour for himself, he came to Pythagoras in Italy, where the cunning Philosopher rooked him of his Money, by persuading the poor Man that he was his God. And to convince him of the Truth of it, they say, That Pythagoras shewed him his golden Thigh; and then, which was worst of all, made him swear the People into a Belief that he was Apollo himself.

If any other Author mentions any of these wonderful Things, he declares that he hath it only from report, or by hearsay, and so leaves the Reader to judge of the Truth of it. But most of these things are positively affirmed by Porphyry, and his Scholar Jamblichus: only they vouch nameless Authorities for them, to shew they were not of their own devising; which yet one can't forbear to think of as many of them as are not to be found in other Authors. But why should these Philosophers either be so wicked to abuse the Faith of Mankind in devising such Stories? Or why should they take the Pains to Collect them, and Pawn their Faith to give them Credit in the World?

Such

Such great Men as they were, had no doubt great Reason for this. But what that should be, deserves a farther Consideration; wherein, if I do a little exceed, I know you will not only Pardon me, but will take the fault upon your self, if these Papers should come to be publisht through your hands.

It is certain that these Men had a vehement Hatred against the Christian Religion; not only through the Prejudices of their Education, but much more on the account of that way of Philosophy, by which they so much valu'd themselves, and had got so great a Fame in the World. They had no Patience to see that sort of Learning, that had been so long in Possession of Glory among all civiliz'd Nations, now to be brought in Disgrace by a Religion, which they accounted to be no better than Folly and Nonsense, and yet pretending to Divine Revelation, would shew that they by all their Wisdom knew not God. Their Indignation at this was much the more, because this New Religion sprung up among the Jews, whom they look't upon as much the worst of the barbarous Nations; and the first Teachers of it were justly, as these Philosophers thought, both hated and contemned by the Jews, as much as the Jews themselves were by all other Nations.

That the Author of this Sect, our Lord Jesus Christ himself, bore no greater Figure

gure in the World, than that of a poor Carpenter; and that his Apostles and Followers were unlearned and ignorant Men; this is own'd, to the Glory of God, by those among themselves that writ his History, and their's, in the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. And that these very Books were written by Men of that sort, even by them whose Names they bear, this I think hath not been gain-said by any that lived within some hundred years after Christ: But it hath been acknowledged by those learned Heathens that writ against the Christian Religion, and especially by Julian, who of all others was best able to inform himself.

V. Hierocl.
infra, &
Julian. A-
post. in
Span-
heim's E-
dition of
Cyril. lib.
X. p. 327.

But what is it that these Men say of their Master, in the Account they give of him, and of them that were the first Publishers of his Doctrine, how they came to have such Authority in the World? They say he wrought in their Presence an infinite number of Miracles; and particularly, those which they have published for the Proof, as well of his Authority, as of his Doctrine. They say also of themselves, that, in their Preaching of him and his Doctrine, the Lord worked with them confirming their word with Signs following.

John XX.
30, 31.
Mar. XVI.
20.

They laid the chief Stress of their Proof upon his Resurrection from the Dead: Of which, not only his Apostles were Eye-witnesses,

I Cor. XV. 6. *nesses, but above 500 Persons, most of them then living, when St. Paul appeal'd to their Testimony. And that he did, in an Epistle which was written within some 20 years after the matter of Fact. The Apostles especially took it on themselves, as their Office, to be Witnesses of his Resurrection. For the faithful Discharge whereof, as they could expect nothing but Sufferings in this Life, so they desir'd nothing more than to finish their Course by dying for it. And they were not deceiv'd in this Expectation; all of them being continually persecuted as long as they liv'd, and many of them suffering Death for the Testimony of Christ. They were charged with no other Crime in this World.*

John IX.
47.
Acts IV.
16.

*As for what they write of his Miracles; and also of their own, which they profess they wrought only by a Power derived from him; the truth of the matters of Fact, we do not find was ever question'd by any that lived in that Age. On the contrary, we see it was acknowledged by the Pharisees, the most malicious and vigilant Enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Holy Apostles. No doubt it puzzled their Wise heads to think how such wonderful Works should be wrought by such simple illiterate Men. For one cannot think they could satisfy themselves with the account which they gave others, of
the*

the way that Christ had to cast out Devils, when they said that he did it by the Prince of Devils; for, as he there answer'd them, it was visibly against the Devil's Interest to do this; the Miracles of Christ being plainly in those Instances to dispossess the Devil of Men's Bodies; and by that, and other beneficial Works, to oblige them, and others, to receive a Doctrine that would also dispossess him of their Souls. But besides the absurdity of this, it is plain the Jews did not believe themselves in this Accusation of Christ. For if they had, they would have insisted on this; as being a Capital Crime, not only by their Law, but also the Roman: And therefore to be sure, they would not have been to seek for other Crimes, if they had thought they had any Colour to charge him with this.

Mat. IX.
34. XII.
24.

But that which the Pharisees said then, of that one sort of Miracles; though it was against all Reason, and against their own Conscience; yet, for want of a better Colour for their unbelief, the Jews in after times have alledged against all the Miracles of Christ, and his Apostles and Followers. This we see in those Objections of the Jews, whom Celsus brings in arguing against the Christian Religion: these Jews, on this very account, rank our Blessed Saviour with Pythagoras, of whom enough has been said

Mat.
XXVI.
59, 60.
Luke
XXIII.
14.

Origen.
contra
Celsum.
I. p. 30, 35.
II. p. 93.
and 94.

*and with such other Heathen Impostors, of
P. xx, xxv. whom more will be said afterwards.*

But for those Jews whom Celsus produces, since it hath been sufficiently shown that they ought not to be admitted as Accusers in this Cause, therefore they might be dismissed; but that the same Celsus gives us occasion to make use of them as our Witnesses, as to those Matters of Fact which he denies, when he comes to speak in his own Person, as a Heathen, and one that was an Epicurean Philosopher. For then he is pleas'd to say, That what things our Scriptures tells us of the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles, are all Fictions and Tales. This he saith more than once: And yet he doth not pretend to prove the Writers of them were Lyers, or to shew any Inconsistence, either in the Miracles themselves, or in the Accounts that are given of them. So that he expected Men should take his Authority for this. But why so? He could say nothing of these matters on his own Knowledge: for he writ in the Emperour Hadrian's time, or something later; and that was at least 50 years after any of those Miracles that are mention'd in our Scriptures. Nor doth he pretend to have any ground to say this, either upon hear-say, or from what he found in former Writers. If he had referr'd us to other Writers, it would have been very great News.

Origen.
contra
Celsum.
III. p. 126,
127. &
VIII. p.
407.

Origen
contra
Cels. I. p.
8.

News. For, of all that have written in the times of Christ and his Apostles, there is none, Jew, or Heathen, that makes any mention of their Miracles: which is a plain sign they knew not what to say against them. Otherwise, they would have spoken as spitefully of them, as they spared not to do of Christ himself.

But how could Celsus answer this to his own Conscience? that whereas of the Miracles wrought by Christians in his own time, he saw there was no denying the matters of fact; and therefore he affirm'd that these Miracles were wrought by Invocation of the Devil; which was the same in effect, that, by his own telling, the Jews said of the Miracles that were wrought by Christ and his Apostles: he should nevertheless have the Impudence to say, that these were Fictions and Tales, as if He knew Christ and his Apostles, better than the Jews in whose Country they liv'd, and whose Ancestors were conversant with them; or as if Christ himself could not work as true Miracles, as were done in Celsus's time, and to his own knowledge, by Christians that wrought their Miracles in his name?

This learned man took surely a likelier way to disparage the Miracles of Christ to the unthinking part of Mankind; by likening the great things that are said of Christ, to

Orig. cont.
Cell. I.

P. xvii.

Origin.
contra
Cels. III p.
125, 129.

Orig. cont. *those that we read of Aristeas Proconnesi-*
 Cel. III. *us, and of Abaris, in Heathen Writers.*
 125, 129. *But they that Think what they read, will*
 Herod. *consider, that of the former of these, the*
 IV. *first account we have is from Herodotus;*
and he tells it only by Hear-say. He says,
they say that Aristeas died at Proconnesus,
and appear'd there again 7 years after: and
having made some Verses, disappear'd: but
that, two or three hundred years after, he
appear'd again at Metapontum, where, by
 Orig. cont. *special direction from Apollo, he was wor-*
 Cel. III. *shipped as God. Of Abaris, Celsus tells*
 p. 129. *us himself, that he had such a Power or Fa-*
culty, that he rode about upon an Arrow
through the Air, over Mountains and Seas,
in his Travels out of Scythia into Greece,
and back again into Scythia, as both Por-
phyry and Jamblichus tell us at large

These things Celsus tells us without any
Censure, as if he believ'd them to be true.
And so they are, as much as his Book is a
true Discourse, which is the Title he gives
it. Whoever considers these Stories, I
think will not much regard the Judgment
that He passeth on the Miracles of Christ
and his Apostles.

But the Way that he took to bring them
in disgrace, by ranking them with those in-
credible Fables, this took mightily with the
learned Heathens that came after him. And
there-

therefore, I doubt not, it was, that both Philostratus writ the life of Apollonius Tyaneus, and that Porphyry writ the Life of Pythagoras, which led me into this Digression. They seem to have been written, both of them with this design. I am sure they are both of them made use of to this purpose; to shew, that all the great things that are told of our Saviour in the Gospel, were equall'd, if not out-done by these Heathen Philosophers.

As for Porphyry, his hatred of the Christian Religion he shew'd sufficiently, in writing 15 Books against it: the Loss whereof, though some of our Deists complain of, yet they may be assur'd for their comfort, they will not want the help of any of our learned men to bring them to light. We want them indeed on many accounts: but especially, to shew them, that as they have Porphyry's malice, so if they had his great Learning too, both these join'd together would not hurt the Christian Religion. We should want his Books the less, if we had any of those Answers that were written against him by three learned Christians, Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinaris. But, as Holstein well observes, the Roman Empire being turned Christian within very few years after the writing of these Books; as the Emperors took care by their Edicts to keep them from com-

Holstein
de vitâ &
scriptis
Porph. c.
10.

Hieron.
præf. Dan.

De vit. &
scr. Por-
phyr. c. 4.

ing into the hands of the Vulgar ; so for learned men, they had now no occasion to transcribe them, or preserve the copies that were written.

Euseb.

hist. VI. 19.

Of the time of Porphyry's writing these Books, we have nothing certain, save that we are told they were written when he was in Sicily. And the time of his coming thither, as he tells us himself, was about the

Porph. v.

Plotini, p.

4.

15th of Galienus the Emperour, that is, about the year of Christ 267. He acknowledgeth that, being in Rome at that time, he had a mind to kill himself : which Plotinus discover'd ; and upon his chiding him for it, he left him, and went away into Sicily. What it was that enraged Porphyry to that degree that he must needs kill himself, he doth not say. Probably it might be out

Euseb.

hist. VII.

12. VIII. 4.

of madness, to see That Emperour's favour to Christians, whom his Father Valerian had done all he could to destroy. If that was the reason of this Philosopher's being weary of his life, he had some ease within a few Months in the death of that Emperour, and then a Succession of others that wanted only a fit season for the renewing of the Persecution. And it might be as well to quicken them to that Work, as to ease his own passion, that he set himself to the writing of these Books. Wherein, as all that quote from them observe,

Holt. ib.

c. 10.

he out-did all others in virulent Railing and Scoffing

Scoffing at the Christian Religion. As for his Arguments, it cannot be imagined that there was any thing of strength in them more than what Julian the Apostate took into the work that he writ afterwards on that Subject. And to our comfort, as well as the Deists, That work is not lost. It hath been often published, with Cyril's answer to it: but never so much to the Reader's advantage, as now lately in the excellent Spanhelm's Edition.

Whether it was before, or after these Books, that he writ the life of Pythagoras, we cannot certainly know: for the life it self is imperfect, both at the beginning, and the end; and the whole Book is but a part of his History of the lives of Philosophers. But whereas these lives of his, as Holstein observes, were all made up of Patches taken out of the ancient Writers; and so is this among the rest; yet here, after all the heap of stuff that he hath collected from others concerning the life of Pythagoras, at last, he brings in those stories of Miracles wrought by him, part of which are in no other Writers, and the rest he hath made his Own by vouching for them, as I have shewn. This I cannot imagine why so wise a man should do, but in pursuance of his malicious design against the Christian Religion, by making his reader believe, that the

De vit. &

Scr. Porph.

c. 7.

p. xiii.

Miracles of Christ, upon which the credit of our Religion is built, were of no greater credit themselves, than those which were wrought by Pythagoras. That I am not mistaken in this, the Reader will see in the following instance of Hierocles ; who, writing some few years after Porphyry had so highly advanced Pythagoras, set him up in Competition with our Lord Jesus Christ, as I shall presently shew.

Laſt. de
Juſtit. v. 2.

Hierocles, being chief Judge at Nicomedia in Diocletan's time, was a chief Instigator of that bloody Persecution that was then against the innocent Christians. And to justify this, he writ two Books against the Christian Religion, which he publiſh'd under the title of Φιλάλῳθος, a lover of Truth. No doubt by these means he won the heart of the Emperour Galerius, who was the first mover of that Persecution : and therefore by him he was advanced to the most profitable Government of Alexandria in Egypt. There also he went on in his butcherly Trade ; till an end was put to it, by the wonderfull Providence of God, which by Constantine's means brought Christianity to be the Imperial Religion. Then Hierocles betook himself wholly to Philosophy, and among other things, writ his Commentary on the Golden Verses that bear the name of Pythagoras ; which I mention, to shew how much he

was

Laſt. de
mort. per-
ſec. c. 16.
Euſeb. de
Mart. Pa-
laſt. c. 5.

was addicted to the honour of Porphyry's Saint.

Of his two Books against the Christians, it seems that Eusebius saw but One; and of that, he tells us, the most part was stollen out of Celsus; and was long since answer'd by Origen. It appears that in that work of Hierocles, to pull down the honour of Christ, he first set up Aristeas, as Celsus had done: next he sets up Pythagoras; and lastly Apollonius Tyaneus. All this we learn out of that Fragment of Hierocles, which is publish'd in the end of his Works, and also at the end of Eusebius's answer to his Book: though Eusebius medleth only with that part which concerns Apollonius, because that was all that was New in this Controversie. In this piece Hierocles, having magnified Apollonius Tyaneus for the great things that were recorded of him by Philostratus in his life; and having vilified our Lord Jesus Christ, whom the Christians, as he saith on the account of his doing a few ~~negatives~~ call a God; he concludes in these words: " It is worth the considering, that those things of Jesus are brag'd of by Peter and Paul, and some others of that sort of men, Liars, and Illiterate, and Impostors; but for these things of Apollonius, we have Maximus, and Damis a Philosopher that lived with him, and Philostratus, men eminent

Euf. cons.
Hier.

Edit. Ox.
on. 8^o. p.
264.

*“ eminent for their Learning, and lovers
“ of truth.*

What a Lover of Truth Hierocles himself was, we are to judge, not by the title of his Books, but by the things contained in them. And though his Books against the Christians have been lost many Ages since, (as those blasphemous Books of Porphyry were,) yet here we have a kind of Summary of them in this Fragment. For here we see in short, what he had to say against the Apostles of Christ, and what to say for the Evangelists of Apollonius, whom he sets up against him: and it cannot be denied that, on either side, the truth of the matters of fact is to be judged of chiefly by the sufficiency and the honesty of the Witnesses. Therefore knowing what he has to say of them, we know in effect the validity of all that is contained in his Books.

First, In his charge against the Apostles of Christ, to say that Paul was Illiterate, this was certainly an impudent Calumny. For
Gal. 6. 11. beside his knowledge of the Greek, that was his native Language, wherein also we see he writ a large Epistle with his own hand, and quotes the Greek Poets in several of his Epistles; I say, beside this, he had the Hebrew Learning in great perfection, being brought
Act. 22. 3. up at the feet of Gamaliel, a Doctor in great fame among the Jews to this day. And he
gave

gave such proofs of his Learning before the Roman Governour and King Agrippa, that the Governour said, too much learning had made him mad. So far was He from calling him an illiterate Man. Act. 26. 24.

Then to call him and Peter, Liars, and Impostors, what occasion did they give him for this? Only by their Preaching and Writing for the Christian Religion. But did they believe that Religion, or not? If they did, suppose they might err in this, yet they could not be Liars and Impostors; for they both knew, and writ, that all such are in a state of Damnation, according to the rules of their Religion. But if they did not believe it, then indeed they might do wicked things for their Religion, if that would recommend them to the Emperour's favour; and so to get preferment, as Hierocles did. But they were so far from that, the Government being against their Religion, that they could get nothing by it but Dangers and Sufferings. Those they met with in all places wheresoever they preach'd. And they look'd for nothing else in this world, but Sufferings, and those to end in a cruel Death, for Christ's sake. This both of them declared in the last Epistles they writ. And in this we see they were not mistaken. For both of them suffer'd Martyrdom, as Clemens tells us in his Epistle to the Corinthians, which he writ within Rom. 3.8. 2 Pet. 3.3. 2 Tim. 4.6. 2 Pet. 1.14.

within two or three years after their death, the truth of which Epistle hath never been question'd by any learned man whatsoever.

But what shall we say of a man that was perfectly Blinded, with Prejudice and Malice, or with Ambition and Covetousness? If Hierocles had not been so, he could not but have seen that those two Apostles of Christ had nothing about them that would suit with those two ugly characters of Liars and Impostors. But he had those in his eye that would certainly have been taken by those marks, if there had been a hue and cry after them. I can't think any learned man in his Age, being asked, Of all the Writers, whose Works were then extant, which was the greatest Liar? would name any other than Philostratus. I am sure he could not, if he would speak impartially. And yet this Philostratus, and his two Authors, Maximus, and Damis, known to none but himself, are the men whom Hierocles calleth Learned Men, and Lovers of Truth. And for an Impostor, if such a one had been enquired for, I know not whom a learned man, that had no design to serve with a Lye, would have named before Apollonius Tyaneus: whom yet Hierocles so much admires, that he thinks himself modest for saying only this, He was a Favourite of the Gods; whereas the Christians say, that Christ was God himself,
for

for those few strange things that are told of him.

First, For Philostratus, on whose single word all the credit of this story of Apollonius depends; of what value his word is, must be judged by considering how he was qualified for an Historian. To begin with the opportunities he had to inform himself; it is certain, he could say nothing of his Own knowledge. For as himself tells us, Apollonius Philost. VIII. 12.
died a few weeks after the Emperour Domitian: that was in the year of our Lord 96. But Philostratus did not write this till above a hundred years after. How came he then by all the stuff with which he hath filled a large History? He tells us, that while he lived in the Court of Julia, that most infamous Empress, the Mother and Wife of that horrible brute Caracalla, the Minutes of Apollonius's Life, written by one Damis, Philost. I. 3.
that lived with him, were presented to her by one of Damis's Relations; and she being a Lover of fine Language, delivered them to this Sophist Philostratus, to put them into a handsome dress. But that we may not think these Minutes were all that he had for the furnishing of his History, he tells us, he had besides, an account from one Maximus of Ægæ, how Apollonius past his time in that Town, for the two or three years that he lived there, being then about 20 years
1b.
of

'Εἰς Ἄ-
πολλωνίου
Ib. I, 3.

of Age, almost a Boy, as Hierocles words it. And this is all the help he had from these two Lovers of Truth, as Hierocles calls them. But there was besides, one Mæragenes, that writ IV Books, On or Against Apollonius; but he is not to be heeded, saith Philostratus, because he was ignorant of many of our Stories; so he lost the Honour of being recorded by Hierocles for one of the lovers of Truth. In short, except the little things that hapned in the short time that Apollonius was at Ægæ; for any thing else of his Life, Philostratus doth not pretend to have any Author but Damis. Tet all that he had of Damis, was no more than a Table-book of Minutes, as Philostratus owns. And those might be written by any one else, for ought he knew. For it was a bundred years after Damis's death, before he saw or heard of them. Till then they were not known. And then a Nameless man, pretending to be a relation of Damis, brought them, and said they were written by Damis. This is all the Authority we have for Philostratus's Legend.

I, 2.

But he saith in the Chapter before, he had some things from Town-talk, in the places where Apollonius had been; and some things he had that other men said of him: and some things from Epistles that Apollonius bad written to Kings, &c. As for the Talk of things done

done a hundred years ago, that is very uncertain; but of what Authority were these Epistles? There may well be a doubt of this. For the Epistles in Diogenes Laertius were generally forged by Sophists. And Philostratus ^{Philostr.} being a Sophist, and one that knew how ^{Soph. II. p. 617.} to write to Kings, might be the very man ^{He writ a book} that forged the Epistles now extant. We ^{of Love-Epistles.} have reason to like them the worse, for a ^{Suid.} greering too well with his History. But besides, he seems to doubt that his Reader might suspect these Epistles, and therefore question his History. To fence against this, he saith, he took things that were more certain from the Authors that he names afterwards: Damis, &c. Of how little credit those Authors were, we have seen. And if things taken out of them were more certain, as he himself tells us, then there is no credit at all to be given to his Epistles.

So much for the Authority: now for the Matters of his History. Some of them, I dare say, were such as Lucian had never heard of, and yet He liv'd mid-way between Apollonius and his Historian. Particularly, I cannot believe he ever heard of that Story of Apollonius, how he made the people at Ephesus stone an old Beggar; who, as He told them, was a Dæmon; and when the Stones had made a Hillock over his body, he bad the people remove the Stones, which they did; and found under them, not a man, but

I, 1.

IV, 3.

IV. 8.
Empusa.

a Mastiff, as big as the biggest sort of Lion; and foaming at Mouth, as if he had been mad. So likewise he tells how Apollonius being invited, with many other Guests, by his Friend Menippus to his Wedding; he found that the amiable Bride was a She-Devil, that was in love with Menippus, and pretending to be a great Fortune, had provided the Wedding Dinner, with a noble Attendance, and all manner of Delicacies: but, upon his telling his Friend what she was, she, together with her Attendance and Dinner, vanish, leaving Apollonius to make her Excuse to the Bridegroom and his Company. Here were Subjects for Lucian to have bantered upon, beyond any that are in his Book; so that, because they are not There, I say again, one may be sure he never heard of them.

P. ix.

L. 1. c. 1.

He that could thus descry Devils, might as well ken Souls, one would think, and tell what Bodies they had passed through; especially being a Pythagorean Philosopher. I have shewn Apollonius could do that, as well as Pythagoras himself; though Philostratus doth not tell us, that ever his Soul dwelt, as that of Pythagoras did, in the Body of a Son of Mercury, that had that Gift from his Father. But he was not to be measur'd by Pythagoras, being as Philostratus tells us, far the greater Man of the two. He out-did him in many things; and particularly in

in this, that he could call up the Souls of any of the Heroes, and entertain himself with them at his Pleasure. Particularly, at the Tomb of Achilles, where that Heroe appear'd sometimes frightfully to others, who therefore warn'd Apollonius not to come near him; he laught at them, and spent a whole Night there in Conversation with Achilles, till the Cocks-crowing, which, it seems, warns the Sprights away. But the next day he told his Company all this; how the Ghost appear'd to him, at first but five Cubits high, but rose up by degrees to be twelve; perhaps swelling with Indignation against his Countrey-men of Thessaly; of whom he bitterly complained, That whereas they used to worship him formerly, now they had this good while left it off. He called Apollonius by his Name: And told him, I am glad you are here, for I have long lookt for such a one as you to tell them of this. But for one thing he expostulated with Apollonius too: That he had receiv'd into his Company one Antisthenes, that was of the race of King Priamus, and that used to sing the Praises of Hector; whom, belike, Achilles hated, even after Death. But it seems Apollonius, having done this ignorantly, now he was told of it discarded the young Gentleman. All this, as Philostratus says, was in the minutes of Damis, who was present at that time.

C And

III, 8.

And with Him I go next to Apollonius's Travels, of which Philostratus tells us many wonders that he saith Damis saw; among which are the most incredible things that we read in the Travels of Sir John Mandevill. But he tells us many more and greater than that Knight has in his Book. Particularly this, which Damis confesseth made him stare. When he was among the Bramins, they brought him to a Treat: where he saw four Tables, that walked and placed themselves in an apt Figure: each of these was supported by an Image that served them with Drink: Two of these Images pour'd out Wine, and the other two Water, one hot, and one cold, to every Guest according to his drinking: and for Dinner, there came in Dishes of all the best Fruits of the Season; invisible, till they were upon the Table, and there they set themselves in order for eating: then the Earth thrust up heaps of Grass, that were softer than Beds, for the Guests to lie upon. Philostratus saith indeed, that how they did these things, Apollonius neither asked, nor cared to Learn: that is, he took all to be done by Magick. But he liked these Magicians never the worse for it; as appears by the high Praises he gave them at every mention that he made of them afterwards. Which so prick'd the Gymnosophists, when he was with them in
Athiopia,

Ethiopia, that they, to shew him a proof of their skill, made an Elm-tree speak to him. It spoke, he saith, articulately: but it was with a Woman's voice; perhaps because the Greek word for an Elm is of the Feminine Gender. These are very rank fulsome Lyes: but they are but a small tast of the abundance that Philostratus gives us out of his Damis's Minutes.

What he tells of Apollonius without that Authority, himself, as I have shewn, doth acknowledge to be very Uncertain. Such he owns those stories to have been that he tells us; of a Choire of Swans, that, happening to be in the Meadow where his Mother fell in Labour, Sung him into the World: and also of a Choire of Virgins, that sung him into Heaven; if the lying Cretans may be believ'd, that gave Philostratus the words of their Song. For the distance of time between his Birth and his Death, he owns it to be very uncertain: He saith it was, as some say, 80 years, as some 90, and as some above 100. But therein, as well as in many other things, he shew'd his want of Chronology. For if, as he tells us, Archelaus rebell'd against the Romans, when Apollonius was at Aegæ, being then but 16 years old; then he must have been born in or very near the first year of our Lord: for it was certainly A. D. 17, in which Archelaus, after a very short

VI, 5.

ΠΤΙΛΙΑ.

P. xxxi.

I, 4.

VIII, 12.

VIII, 14.

I, 9.

Tac. Ann.
II, 42.

xxxvi To the Reverend Dr. Bentley.

T^ac An- struggle, yielded, and was deposed for his
nal II, 42. Rebellion. And as I have shewn from Phi-
lostratus himself, Apollodorus died A. D.

P. xxix.

96. Therefore, according to Philostratus's own account, he died at the Age of 96 or 97 years old; which is none of the years above mention'd. So uncertain was also the place of his death. For, as Philostratus

VIII, 12.

saith, some say he died at Ephesus; some say in the Isle of Candy; and some in Minerva's Temple at Lindus. For Philostratus's part, not daring to strain the credit of Damis, by making him side with any of them, he declares that Damis said nothing of the manner of his Death. But then, delivering

VIII, 12.

the opinions of others, he saith, Thus died Apollonius; adding, if he Died at all. O rare Historian! that, having not only assured us he was Born, but having given a particular account, of his Father, and his Mother, and the Green Chamber he was Born in; comes at last to make a Doubt whether he ever Died or no. What would this man have the

P. v.

Reader think of his Apollonius? that he was greater than Apollo? or than Jupiter himself? So it seems. For both these Died, as we have shewn from Pythagoras himself; who own'd it was after their Deaths that they were made Gods: and Pythagoras could not but Know this; for, as this Writer tells us, Pythagoras was Among them
some-

sometimes; and Apollo came to him, and own'd I, 1, 2.
that it was He that spoke to him. Tet here,
Philostratus, that told us all this, though he
durst not speak out, that Apollonius did Never
die; yet he intimates this was his Opinion, and
would incline his Reader to believe it. Cer-
tainly your Tzetzes did not exceed in cal-
ling him the most lying Philostratus. A-
mong all the Writers that I know, there is
scarce a greater Liar in the world.

Nor was there a greater Impostor than
Apollonius; whom, on the sole credit of Phi-
lostratus's History, Hierocles so much ex-
tolls, as the great Favourite of the Gods,
and fitter to be called a God, than our Bles-
sed Saviour. But to shew more particularly
what Apollonius was, we must not wholly
reject his lying Historian. For, if we do,
we are quite in the dark: there being no o-
ther that writ of Apollonius within two hun-
dred years after his death, Lucian only ex-
cepted. And therefore to make the best of
what we have in these two Writers, I shall
begin with Philostratus, and take the best
Information we can get of him.

Now according to this Historian, Apolloni-
us was bred up at first among the Pythagore-
ans, and always affected to be thought a Phi-
losopher of that Sect. For he strictly observed
the rules of Pythagoras, though he under-
stood not his Doctrine. But he not only imi-
tated,

Euseb. in
Hier.

tated, but much out did him in his Travels. And according to the way of that Sect, which was much addicted to the Worship of Dæmon's, he made it his business, wheresoever he went, to restore the Gentile Idolatry, which was then much sunk by the preaching of the Christian Religion. This, no doubt, might entitle him to the Devil's especial Assistance, by which he might do Wonderfull things; and might, as he Boasted he did, know more than all the men in the world. That was nothing to him. He would be thought to be a God, and therefore he boasted of things which no Man could know

I, 3. p. 25. or do. He declared, he knew all the Languages of Men without any teaching; and that he understood, not only their Words, but even their silent Thoughts. Damis, as soon as he heard this, fell down and worshipped him; he could do no less, looking upon him as a Dæmon, saith the Historian. Others that saw his Tricks, and heard such things from him, soon found both what he was, and what he would be at. They saw, he was either a Magician or a grand Cheat. I, 2, 3. This was the common Opinion they had of him, according to Philostratus, who notably fenceth against it. They also saw what he drove at, even to be thought a God. Of this VII. 1. he was accused to the Government: and that by Philosophers, even by Euphrates the greatest

est of them in his Age. These learned men, no doubt, had seen the Books that he publish'd; namely, his four Books of Judicial Astrology, and his Books of Sacrifices, to shew what sorts of them would best please every God. I find no other Books that he writ. And these could not but confirm those Philosophers in their opinion of him. We have these things, and much more of this kind, from Philostratus; whom we have reason to believe in these things, though not in many other; for in these he agrees with him that lived nearest Apollonius's time. III, 13.

Of all the Writers now extant, the nearest to the time of Apollonius was Lucian, as I have shewn. And what opinion he had of him, we may see in his account of another of the same Trade, one Alexander, a Famous Impostor. Lucian tells us of this Alexander; that being at first a handsome Youth, he was abused by one of Tyana, that made him his Catamite. This execrable Sodomite, being, as Lucian saith, not only a Countryman of Apollonius, but also one of his Companions, that knew all His way of acting the part of a Philosopher; to make this young man the more passive to his Lust, train'd him up to Magic, and taught him the use of Charms, and made him a great Proficient in all the other arts of Cheating, in which he excell'd. This is all that

Lucian in
Pseudo-
Mant. p.
476.

Ten. p. 112.

we have of Apollonius from Lucian. And we had not known so much of him as this, but that Lucian, having occasion to speak of a Companion of his, that set up at his Trade, and took Apprentices at it; thereupon brings him in, as the Master-workman of his Age in all that way of Diabolical Practice.

This was the Reputation he had, as it seems, till above a hundred years after his Death. Then outcomes this Book of his Life; compos'd; as I have shewn, out of unknown Memoirs, brought into the World by an unknown hand. They are said to have been Brought to the Empress Julia, as I have shewn. That might be, though they were first born in her Court. She might as well order the first Devising, as the composing of them into a History. Philostratus owns that what he did was by Her order. And she was her self a Philosopher, as he tells us: a great Intriguer, all acknowledge. No doubt she had very great reasons for such an extraordinary thing as this was, to canonize a Magician a hundred years after his death, and to advance him even to be a God: Whether she had a mind this way to draw off her Son, the young Emperor, from the esteem he had of the Christians, whom he favour'd on his Nurses account, that was of that Religion: or whether to do honour to a Disciple and intimate Friend of the Magi, that

P. xxx.

P. xxix.

Philost.
Soph. II.
p. 617.

Enf. hist.
VI.

Phil. vit.
Apol. I. 18,
24.

that were Noted to lie with their Mothers; and thereby to countenance her wicked design of drawing her Son to her Bed. These are but Conjectures. But whatsoever the matter was, it was She, as Philostratus owns, that set him upon the design of writing the Life of Apollonius; at such a rate, that whoever believ'd it, could not but look upon him as a fit Rival for our Blessed Saviour. Her, and her Son Caracalla, I take to have been the Emperours that order'd him to be worshipped, at Tyana where he was born. That Emperours did order this, Philostratus tells us in a Chapter which I take to be an addition to the end of his Book. And sure this could not be done by any Emperours before Lucian's time: For if it had, he durst not have writ those things that I have quoted from him. Considering also that her Sister or Neice Mammæa, the Mother of Alexander Severus, was a Christian; I do not wonder at that which Lampridius hath in this Emperours Life. Where he saith, he had the Images of Christ and Apollonius together in his Lararium. Of his Mother he had his Birth and Education; and it was his Aunt Julia that rais'd him to that Greatness; in which, being to furnish a Closet for his Devotion, he thought to please them both, in setting up his Aunt's God together with his Mother's.

Sext. Empir. Pyrrh. III, 24.

I, 3.

More's
Mystery of
Godliness,
IV, 3, 4
V, 7, 1.

Phil. VIII.

13.

Eus. hist. VI, 21.
Lampr. A. lex. A. 9.
29.

As the bigotted Heathens could not but be pleas'd with the Honour done to Apollonius, in order to the Lessening of our Blessed Saviour, so no doubt the Devil would promote it what he could. And therefore I am inclin'd to be of Dr. More's opinion; that the Devil might make that appearance to Aurelian, in the name of his Saint Apollonius, to perswade that incens'd Emperor to spare his City of Tyana for his sake. Tho' otherwise, it is not improbable that Vopiscus might Invent this part of his History. For, as my most learned Friend Mr. Dodwell shews, he writ it in the first heat of Diocletian's Persecution, and dedicated it to the Præfectus Urbis, who had the same concern in this matter at Rome, that Hierocles had at Nicomedia. And by the high Encomium he gives Apollonius; out of a Greek Book, as he tells us, which could be no other than his Life written by Philostratus; it is plain he had the same wicked design with Hierocles, namely, to set up this Magician for a Rival to our Saviour; and thereby to bring Contempt on his holy Religion, and on all them that suffer'd and died for it in that Persecution.

But when God's time was come to set up the Kingdom of Christ, three or four Emperors that Oppos'd it with the utmost Malice and Rage, were successively taken away by the

*Mystery of
Godliness,
V, 7, 8.*

*Vopisc.
Divus Au-
rel. c. 24.
Mr. Dod-
well's præ-
lect. pro-
cem. in
hist. Aug.
V. 6.*

*V. Laet. de
mort. per-
fec.*

the visible hand of God; the Justice whereof two of them at their death did acknowledge. Then the Devil being thrown out of Heaven, all his Angels fell with him. Christianity came to be the establish'd Religion. And Then, (to use the Phrase of a Gentleman that had more Wit than did him good,) Religion having taught the people to say Grace, there was no more danger of the crooked Pin in the Pudding: those palpable Lyes of Apollonius would not go down; and so, for ought I find, Hierocles quite lost his labour.

Next, Jamblichus, who, as Eunapius saith in his life, was a greater Scholar than his Master Porphyry, and who was no less a Hater of Christians; yet living under Christian Emperors, as he did all the time of his age for writing Books, he durst not write Professedly against the Christian Religion. But taking this to be a safe way, he went on with his Masters design of setting up Pythagoras to be a Rival to our Saviour. In order to this, he took up all the stuff that Porphyry in his life of Pythagoras had gather'd ready to his hand. He worked it over again his own way, oftentimes making use of Porphyry's words. Then, for farther Embellishment, he added out of his own Invention, whatever he thought would either adorn his Subject, or promote the design of
his

his Writing. His design was plainly to subvert the Christian Religion. But so, as not to run himself in any danger on that account: and therefore, without ever mentioning Christ or Christians; which he could not do in this Book without seeming to make some kind of reflection upon them; he only endeavours to make Pythagoras, and those of his Sect, outshine them in the Lustre that he gives them with his Eloquence, such as it is. Which, together with other Services that he did to the cause of Heathenism against the Christian Religion, did so far endear him to Julian, that wretched Apostate; that, after he came to shew himself, which was not till he took the Empire upon him, he writ more Epistles to Jamblichus than to any other while He was living: and after his Death never mentioned him but with the highest Encomiums, calling him sometimes the Hero, sometimes the Divine Jamblichus, and one whom he admired next the Gods.

Juliani Epist xxxiv, xl, xli, liii, lx, lxi.

Juliani Orat. IV. Orat. VII. lb.

Julian, having been sometime a Reader in the Church, might very well understand him as I do in the following instances of his Book; which I take to have been written in a kind of Abusive imitation of the Gospel. Namely, where he tells us, how the Mother of Pythagoras, being with Child of him, which was more than her Husband yet knew, was brought by him to the Oracle of Apollo Pythius at Delphi:

Jambl. vit. Pyth c. 2. p. 28.

Delphi: and there the Prophetess told him both the first News of his Wife's Conception, and also that the Child she then went with should prove the greatest good to Mankind. Thereupon he saith, her Husband changed his Wife's name from Parthenis to Pythais: and afterwards, when the Child was born, call'd him Pythagoras; as being foretold by Apollo Pythius, for so he saith that name signifies. Jamblichus will not take upon c. 2. p. 29. him to say (as he tells us some Others did) that the Child was of Apollo's own getting: but he saith, none can doubt it was one of lb. Apollo's Companions in Heaven, that came down to be the Soul of that Child. He should have said rather, one of Pluto's Companions in Hell; for the Soul of Pythagoras came then out of Hades, if Pythagoras P. viii. himself may be believ'd. But Jamblichus was aware that Pythagoras overshot himself sometimes, and did it particularly in his account of the Stages that his Soul pass'd thro' in it's Travels. Therefore Jamblichus takes notice of no other but Euphorbus, in whom that Soul formerly dwelt. He smuggles all the other Names we have mention'd, not only p. vi, vii, viii. from his Master Porphyry, but even from Pythagoras himself.

But however, he saith, it hath been affirm'd by many, and that with great probability, that Pythagoras was the Son of God,

P. 43.

e. 27. p. 127.

e. 19. p. 94.

P. xiii.

e. 19. p. 94.

God. *Nay, that he was one of the Heavenly Gods that then appear'd upon Earth for the Good of Mankind; a greater Good than ever did come before, or should ever come after. His Disciples indeed could not agree among themselves what God he should be. Some would have it that he was Apollo Pythius; others, that he was Apollo Hyperboreus; others, that he was Æsculapius; others, that he was one of the Demons that dwelt in the Moon. They that said he was Apollo, seem'd to be the greatest number; and they had the greatest Authority on their side, even his Own; for so Pyth. himself told Abaris (to entitle himself to the Money, as we have shewn) that he was the very God himself: and proved it by shewing him his Golden Thigh, such, as it seems Abaris had told him that the Image of his God had in Scythia. But then, lest Abaris should ask him what he made Here? Pythagoras added, that he put on human Shape, that Men might not be afraid to converse with him; as they would, if they knew the Excellence of his Person, and so they would deprive themselves of the benefit of his Doctrine.*

Such stuff as this runs through his Book; which, being written for the deifying of an Impostor, plainly shew'd that the design of it was to Banter the Gospel of Christ. He begins

begins like one of the Heathen Poets, with invoking the Gods, and Pythagoras, to assist him in the Work. How he ended it, we cannot tell; for his Book is imperfect. But probably he continu'd it with an account of this Impostor's Disciples, in imitation of the Acts of the Apostles. In short, as well for History, as for Doctrinal matters, from one end to the other, it hath so much of the Devil in it, that it seems to have been wholly written by his Inspiration.

But all this I do acknowledge to have been a Digression, as well as all the rest of what I have written, that doth not concern the Writers of Pythagoras's Life. For it was my proper business to shew of what credit They are, as to matter of History. Now the two chief of these, being Porphyry and Jamblichus, who were great Philosophers themselves, and such great Admirers of Pythagoras, as they shew in the writing of his Life; one ought to expect they would have taken care to gather all that was True of him out of all the former Historians, and to have mingled nothing with it that was Inconsistent with the truth of History. How well they have perform'd this in other respects, I shall not take upon me to examin. But I shall take account of it only as to matter of Chronology. And that I think sufficiently sheweth how much at random it is that Jamblichus

thus pretends to give the Years of Pythagoras's Life, and his chief Actions and Events: and also how grossly both He, and Porphyry before him, have abused their Readers in the accounts that they give us of his principal Disciples.

As to the years of Pythagoras's Life, Jamblichus tells us, that it was much about his XVIII year that he set out to Travel: and that after some time, (which I take to be IV years) spent in other Countries, he came into Ægypt, and there he stay'd XXII years. He goes on, and says that the Philosopher being taken there by Cambyse's Soldiers, was carry'd to Babylon, and there he stay'd XII years; and then return'd home to Samos, being now about LVI years old. There he stay'd for some time, (it should seem for another IV years) and then in Olympiad LXII he went into Italy. There, he says, he govern'd his School XL years wanting I, and lived in all very near C years.

c. 2. p. 31.
l. 5.
c. 4. p. 36.
l. 27.
c. 4. ending.
c. 5. beginning.
c. 7. p. 47.
l. 23.
c. 36. p.
220. l. 4.

So Distinct an account as this is of the years of Pythagoras's Life, whereof there is not the least Item in any of the ancienter Writers, did, I confess, not a little rejoyce me, when I first met with it: and so much the more, because of two Certain Notations of time, by which, if they were true, all those years might be reduced to the like certainty,

tainty. There is nothing better known in ancient History, than the year of Cambyſes's conquering Egypt. We are certain it was in the end of the third year, or the beginning of the fourth of Olymp. LXIV. So that according to Jamblichus, this was the very year of Pythagoras's being carry'd to Babylon. And the time of his going into Italy is as certain, according to Jamblichus, who ſaith it was Olymp. LXII wherein Eryxias was Victor. There is plainly VI years diſtance of time between theſe years that are here mention'd. And the ſame, one would think, there ſhould be between his being carry'd to Babylon and his going into Italy. But that cannot be Jamblichus's meaning. For he ſaith, it was XII years that Pythagoras ſtay'd at Babylon; and then, to make up his life very near C years, as Jamblichus reckons it, there muſt be three or four years more that he ſtay'd in Crete, and at Samos, before he went into Italy. Add theſe to the XII years before mention'd, and they make ſome XV or XVI years. And yet here Jamblichus makes his going into Italy to be in Olymp. LXII, that is, to be VI or VII years before the certain time of his being carry'd to Babylon, which muſt be in the third or fourth year of Olymp. LXIII, if he was carry'd thither by the Forces of Cambyſes, as Jamblichus tells us. So in ſhort, he brings

Pythagoras *Captive to Babylon some xv or xvi years before his going to Italy ; and yet he makes his going into Italy vi or vii years before his being carry'd to Babylon. Here are two of the chief accounts of time in his History which so manifestly contradict one another, that to believe him in both is impossible.*

This is a great disappointment, but it will make us some part of amends, if there be any truth in either of them. To begin with that which he saith of Pythagoras's being taken in Ægypt by the Soldiers of King Cambyſes ; that must be in the third or fourth year of Olymp. LXIII, as I have shewn. But as herein he contradicts himself in his other Notation of time, so in this he doth not agree with the ancients Writers ; who generally speak of Pythagoras's coming from Babylon to Samos, and his going from thence into Italy, before the Reign of Cambyſes. Now that he that lived near DCCC years after those times, should presume to publish this to the World, without naming any Author for it, but as if he said it of his own knowledge ; this I cannot look upon as any other than a very impudent Fiction. As for that which he said of Pythagoras's going into Italy in Olymp. LXII, it is very likely he had Authors that said something like it. There are enough that say he was there in Olymp.

LXII ;

LXII; and it is very likely Jamblichus might mistake them, and that might occasion him to say that Pythagoras went thither at that time. This is the best I can say of it. And so in short, I have lost all the joy that I had of both his Discoveries. For having examin'd them, I see the last is a mere Blunder, the former a bold Fiction, and they both contradict one another. What credit can one give to such an Historian?

For his account of the Disciples of Pythagoras, he takes what he will out of the rude heap that his Master Porphyry had thrown together, and much more he adds very lavishly out of his own head.

Zamolxis the Lawgiver of the Getes, they will have to be one of Pythagoras's Disciples. Porphyry makes him one of the First. For he saith, that Zamolxis being yet a Boy, was brought out of Thrace by the Father of our Philosopher, who gave him to his Son, and he taught him all matters of Religion. Jamblichus owns he was Slave to Pythagoras; who, as he says, taught, him and then gave him his liberty. And yet he had reckon'd him before, among the young men, that came to be Disciples to Pythagoras in his old Age. All this is true alike. For Herodotus, that liv'd among them who remember'd Pythagoras, saith,

c. 30. p.
154. l. 22.

c. 23. p.
103. l. 15.

Herodot.
IV, 56.

Zamolxis was much Ancienter than he. And therefore Jamblichus was once in the right, though perhaps it was through forgetfulness, when he left him out of the Catalogue of Pythagoras's Disciples.

Zaleucus and Charondas he hath in the Catalogue ; for which, he hath not only Porphyry on his side, who tells us from Nicomachus, that by these he gave Laws to their people ; but also in Diogenes Laertius
c 23. p. 103. l. 11, 15. there is a mention of them to this purpose. But Jamblichus of his own head reckons
both these among them that came Young to be Pythagoras's Disciples when he was Old : which is no truer of them than of Zamolxis ; for these also were much ancienter than Pythagoras. Zaleucus lived Olymp. XXIX, according to Eusebius's Chronicon. Of
Dissert. p. 362. Charondas you have shewn that he was the Scholar of Zaleucus, or as others say, older than he. So that, if these three were Pythagoras's Disciples, it must have been some time after the Wars of Troy, before his Soul came into that Samian Body of his ; which, if it could be made out, would be a wonderfull proof of his Doctrine of Transmigration.

They reckon three other Disciples of Pythagoras, on whom he set no ordinary value, if it be true that they tell us of the Names
that

that he gave them. These three were Epimenides, by him Surnamed Purger; Empe-^{Kaδaίγης.} docles, call'd Wind-charmer; and Abaris,^{Ἀλεξάνδρ.} call'd Sky-rider. And very fine Stories^{μυθ.} they tell of the reasons of his giving them these Names: all tending to this, that he^{Πορφ. vit.} imparted to them some of those Romantick^{Pyth. p.} Powers which these Historians were pleas'd^{193.} to ascribe to Pythagoras. I indeed call'd^{Jambl. c.} them Lyes, but I shall ask their pardon, if^{28. p. 127,} I do not prove that they belye Pythagoras^{128.} in what they say of these his Disciples. ^{p. xi.}

First, for Epimenides, whom both Porphyry and Jamblichus do reckon among his Disciples; there is much more probability in what^{VIII, 3.} Laertius says, that makes him one of the Masters of Pythagoras. But certainly Jamblichus over-shot himself, in saying that he also^{c. 23. p.} came a young man when Pythagoras was old.^{103. l. 15.} And both he and his Master are extravagant in making Pythagoras Teach him to conjure. For Epimenides, as all Writers agree, had purged Athens, whence he had the name^{Kaδaίγης,} before he could see Pythagoras, who, as they say, gave him that Name. And he was a very Old man when he died. And that was either before Pythagoras was born, or not many years after. See my account of him in the year 594 before Christ.

D. Laert.
VIII, 56.
ibidem.

VIII, 74.

Ἀλεξάνδ-
ρῳ, Π.

To fetch Empedocles into his School, they seem to stretch hard on the other hand. For, though all agree that he was of the Pythagorean Sect, yet that ever he was taught by Pythagoras, seems very improbable. That Alcidas said this, is true: but he makes Empedocles a hearer of Anaxagoras, either first, or together with Pythagoras. This could not be; because Pythagoras was Dead, either before, or a very little after the Birth of Anaxagoras. See my account of him in the year 500 before Christ. But that Empedocles came too late into the World to be at all a Disciple of Pythagoras, it sufficiently appears by the accounts we have of him in D. Laertius. Who saith, that he flourish'd in Olymp. LXXXIV, and that Aristotle saith he died at LX years old; tho' others of less credit say he lived LXXVII, or CIX years. But if he was in the flower of his Age in the LXXXIVth Olympiad, that is above LX years after Olymp. LXVIII, 3. in which I place the death of Pythagoras; or placing it in Olymp. LXX, 4. which is but IX years after, and that is the lowest I can go: I must needs say, Empedocles was a very young Conjurer, or he flourish'd in a very old Age: or, which I rather believe, there is no credit to be given to these two Historians.

This

This will farther appear by the account they give of Abaris, whom also they make a great Conjuror, and train'd up to it by Abaris. Pythagoras. So much Porphyry had said. But Jamblichus much out-does his Master. For having told us that Abaris came for improvement in knowledge into Greece; he saith, that in his way home from thence, being now well stricken in years, he came to see Pythagoras in Italy. There he gave Pythagoras the Arrow upon which he used to ride aloft in the Air: though elsewhere he saith Pythagoras took away his Arrow, and kept it till he made him confess all he cared to know of him. When there in Italy they had spent as much time together as Jamblichus pleas'd, then he brings them to Agrigentum in Sicily; and there he sets them to try if they can work any good upon Phalaris. In his 32^d Chapter Jamblichus sheweth his Talent in the making of Speeches for them, and of Answers for Phalaris; till they came to be upon ill terms. Then he makes Phalaris resolve to kill them both; and he makes them for prevention set the People against him: by whom, he saith, Phalaris was kill'd the same day that he had determin'd to kill both Pythagoras and Abaris.

Now this is so fine a Romance, that it
is

*is pity there should be no truth in it; but only that there was such a City, and that there were such Persons. It is civil to grant that in the time of Pythagoras there was such a one as Abaris living, though Authors differ much about the time of his coming into Greece. For as Harpocraton tells us, Hippostratus placed it in Olymp. III, others in Olymp. XXI. Pindar in the time of King Cræsus; and Euseb. Chronicon bath it twice, namely there, and in Olymp. LXXXII. But granting that Abaris was in Greece in Cræsus's time, which is the only time that consists with Jamblichus's story: Then, according to Euseb. Chronicon, his coming was in Olymp. LIV, 2. that was while Pythagoras was abroad in his Travels, according to Jamblichus's Account, which makes his coming into Italy to be in Olymp. LXII; that is, full xxx years after. By this time Abaris, though he came out of Greece with him, must needs be very well stricken in years: much more, if he came after Pythagoras was settled in Italy. But what becomes of Phalaris the mean while? See in my account, 572 before Christ. There it appears, the latest we can bring Phalaris to die, is in Olymp. LVII, 4. that is XVI years before Jamblichus makes Pythagoras come into Italy. After this, Phalaris could neither kill, nor
be*

be kill'd, but in a Romance; and I take all this Story of Jamblichus to be no other.

*For the rest of the 218 Names of Disci- c. 36. p.
ples in his Catalogue, I can bring none of ²²¹, &c.
them within the time of Pythagoras's Life,
but Milo, and Parmenides, whom I menti-
on in my account in the years 539, and 504
before Christ. There are scarce two more
of them that ever saw Pythagoras, for ought
that appears in any good Author: though
here are the names of several more that were
Philosophers of the Pythagorean Sect. Yet
even these, together with them before men-
tion'd, will not make up the odd number of
eighteen. For the other two hundred, I
take them to be insignificant Names, inven-
ted by Jamblichus only out of vain Oslenta-
tion.*

*To conclude, I do not lay any weight at
all upon the Testimony of Jamblichus, nor
much on that of his Master Porphyry,
where he doth not mention his Author.
But I quote them sometimes in the follow-
ing account, as in a History of the British
Kings I would Geoffry of Monmouth. But
then naming my Author, for want of a bet-
ter, where I think what he says may be
true, I should leave all I said from him to
the reader, with a perfect indifference whe-
ther he believ'd him or not. With the like*

To the Reverend Dr. Bentley.

*indifference, as to every thing but what I
have Scripture for, I commit these Papers
into your hands; desiring you to take them
only as my Opinion, which is all that you ask
of,*

SIR,

Your Affectionate Friend,

Mar. 30.
1699,

and Servant,

W. Cov. and Lich.

A

Chronological Account

Of the LIFE of

PYTHAGORAS,

AND

Of other Famous Men his
Contemporaries.*Pythagoras's Age.*

OF *Pythagoras* the *Samian* Philosopher there is nothing said by any of the Ancients, that I know, which can make us think he was born before Olymp. XLIII, save only that of *Plin. Nat. Hist. II. 8.* who says, that in Olymp. XLII, and *V. C. 142*, he first found that *Venus* was sometimes the Morning Star, and sometimes the Evening Star. But it is not improbable that in this *Pliny* might mistake *Pythagoras* for his Master *Thales*, of whom see the year 585 before Christ.

Years
before
Christ.

Olympiads.

N. PYTHAGORAS born this year, if 605. he was the same that is here mention'd in the year 588 before Christ. This year also suits best with *Antiochus's*

4334

B 2

Ac-

Years
before
Christ.
604.

Olym-
piads.

Account, which follows in 583 before Christ.

Pythagoras's Age.

44.

①. *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*. Next his Son *Nabocolassar* or *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had reigned about two years with his Father. This year *Jan. 21*, was his first Thoth, according to *Ptol. Canon*.

600.

45.

N. PHERECYDES, born this year. *Suidas*. He was born in the Isle of *Syrus* one of the *Cyclades*. *Strabo* x. *Pythagoras* was at first his Disciple. *Cicero Tusc. Qu. 1. Diod. Sic. Excerpt.* and many others.

594, 3.

46, 3.

SOLON was this year Archon at *Athens*. *Diog. Laert.* from *Soficrates*. So *Euseb. Chronicon* in 1 MS. *Clem. Alexandr. ss. 4.* saith, he was Archon in Olymp. XLVI.

He made his Laws in the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*. *A. Gellius* xvii, 21. He made them the year that he was Archon, and that with the help of *EPIMENIDES*, who came thither from *Crete*, and having expiated the City in Olymp. XLIV, as *Suidas* saith, or in Olymp. XLV, as *Euf. Chron.* *Pontasi*, or Olymp. XLVI, as *Laertius*, returned home, and died soon after. *D. Laert. l. 110*, being 154 years old, as *Xenophanes* said he had heard. *lb. III.* of *Xenophanes* see in the year 540 before Christ.

592.

47.

ANACHARSIS Scythia now came to *Athens*, *Eucrates* being Archon. *D. Laert. l. 101.*

588.

48.

Pythagoras Samius offer'd himself to play at Fisticuffs among the Boys at the Olympic Games; but having long Hair, and wear-

of Pythagoras, and others.

3

Pythagoras's Age.

wearing Purple, he was rejected with Re-
proach. Therefore he went from them
among the Men; and there offering him-
self at the same Exercise, he was *Victor*.
This was our Philosopher, according to
D. Laert. VIII, 48. who hath all this from
Eratosthenes, *Favorinus*, and *Theætetus*.
Jamblichus hath the same; and many o-
thers. *Eratosthenes* says farther, that our
Philosopher was the first that boxed ac-
cording to Art. Yet *D. Laert.* cites a
Poet, that saith this was *Pythagoras*, Son
of *Cræus*. *Hesychius* saith, they are mi-
staken that think it was the Philoso-
pher.

Years
before
Christ.

Olym-
piads.

I N. PYTHAGORAS, Son of *Mnesarchus*, 586, 5.
(descended from *Hippasus*, who was for-
merly of *Phlius*) by *Pythais*, who was de-
scended from *Anceus* one of the Planters
of *Samos*. There most Writers say he
was born: though *Porphyry* would have
him born at *Tyre*, and *Jamblichus* at *Si-
don*, perhaps as being the ancients City.
It seems there were other Pretenders to
the honour of being his Countrymen: for
Joseph. in *Ap.* II. saith, it is as hard to
tell his Country as *Homer's*. But yet it
is harder to tell the year of his Birth. I
am doubtfull whether it ought not to be
the year 605 before Christ. But I rather
place it here, for Reasons that will ap-
pear afterwards in the years 506 and 497
before Christ.

48, 3.

2 O. PERIANDER died 40 years before 585.
Cræsus, and 1 year before Olymp. XLIX.
D. Laert. I, 95. from *Socrates*.

48, 4.

B 3

He

Years
before
Christ.

Olympiads.

He had reigned at Corinth 44 years. *Pythagoras's Age.*
Arist. Pol. v, 12. Of the VII Wise men
 of Greece, he was the first that died. The
 other VI were *Thales, Solon, Cleobulus,*
Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus, thus reckon'd
 by *Diog. Laert. Proem. 13,* and *1. 40,*
1, 2.

48, 4.

THALES this year foretold an Eclipse of 2
 the Sun. He was the first among the
 Greeks that could do this. *Cicero de Di-*
vin. 1.

583, 2.

49, 2.

Pythagora ὁλκία, according to *Antilo-* 4
chus, who in his History of Learned Men
 reckon'd 312 years from hence to *Epicu-*
rus's death, which was (270 years before
 Christ) Olymp. CXXVII, 2. *Gamelion 10.*
Cic. de fato. D. Laert. x, 15. and *Clem.*
Alex. 59 a.

580, 79.

50.

N. ARISTEAS *Proconnesius* was born this 7
 Olymp. *Suidas.*

It was after Olymp. L. that *Pythagoras*
 came into Italy, saith *D. Halicarn. lib. II.*
p. 120. But *H. Valesius*, and *Menagius*
 think this is a mistake of Olymp. N. instead
 of Olymp. Z.

578.

50, 3.

Θ. *Tarquinius Priscus* died. Next King 9
Servius Tullius. *Dion. Hal. III.*

572.

52.

Began the Tyranny of PHALARIS, ACCOR- 15
 ding to *Suidas*, and *Euf. Chron. Pontaci*,
 which saith it continued 16 years. *Euf.*
Chron. in a former account hath his Ty-
 ranny, according to *Scaliger's* Edition, be-
 ginning Olymp. XXXI, 2, and ending O-
 lymp. XXXVIII, 2. Here also according to
Scaliger it should be LIII, 4.

- 15 ANACREON *Teius* lived in this Olymp. 52.
It was in *Polycrates's* time. *Suidas*.
- 15 ÆSOP the Fable-maker now flourish'd. 52.
D. Laert 1, 72.
- 17 Θ. PITTACUS died at *Mitylene*. *D. La* 570. 52, 3.
ert. 1, 79.
- 17 *Pythagoras*, being 18 years old, went 568, 7. 53, 1.
to travel as on the account of his Studies.
Jamblichus c. 2. for which, by *Thales*, he
was advised to go to *Egypt*. *Id.* *D. La-*
ert. VIII, 2. saith, he was then a young
Man, and addicted to Learning. But
his going for *Egypt*, was to avoid the
growing Tyranny of *Polycrates*. *Strabo*
xiv. and *Jamblichus* c. 2. Yet *Polycra-*
tes writ a Letter in his Commendation
to King *Amasis*, being his Friend and
Hospes, desiring him to get him instru-
cted by the *Egyptian* Priests. *D. Laert.*
and *Porph.* from *Antipho*. *Jamblichus* c. 2.
saith, he went first to *Pherecydes*, then to
Anaximander, then to *Thales*. *Id.* c. 3.
then to *Sidon*, to *Byblus*, to *Tyre*, and many
other Cities of *Syria*: in all which places
he was initiated. Then he took Ship for
Egypt: but by the way he landed, and
went up Mount *Carmel*. *Jamblichus*,
c. 3.
- He came into *Egypt*. *Isocr. de laud.*
Busiridis. *Cic. de finibus* v. *Strab.* xiv.
Plin. xxv, 2. *Lucian*, *Tatian*, *Clem. A-*
lex. He gave *Polycrates's* Letter to *Ama-*
sis, and obtained *Amasis's* Letter to the
Egyptian Priests. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.*
from *Antipho*. With this Letter he came
first to them of *Heliopolis*: they sent him

Years
before
Christ.

Olym-
piads.

to them of *Memphis*, their Seniors: they to the *Diospolites*; who at first were very shy; but, fearing to displease *Amasis*, they undertook him, thinking at first to balk him with their Austerities. But he underwent all, saith *Porphry* from *Antipho*. He was circumcised, and initiated in their Sacred Rites. *Clement. Alex. ss. a.* He learnt the *Egyptian* Language, he learnt their three sorts of Letters. They admitted him to their Sacrifices, and Exercises of Learning; which none ever obtain'd before. *D. Laert.* from *Antipho*. He learnt of their Priests the manner of their Sacrifices, and their religious Rites. *Isocr. de l. Busir.* He read the Books of their ancient Priests, *Clem. Alex.* He learnt their Geometry, and Astronomy. *Fambl. c. 4.* He got the Observations of infinite Ages. *Valer. Maximus, viii, 7.* He was in *Egypt* a long time, as all confess. *Plut. 2. Symposiac. viii, 8.* 22 years saith *Fambl. c. 4.* This I believe was all the time of his Eastern Travels. He also went to the King of *Arabia*, and learnt all he could there. *Porph.*

Strabo xiv. p. 439, 18, & c. saith, from *Egypt* he went to *Babylon*. There he was with the *Chaldees* and *Magi*. *D. Laert.* There at *Babylon* he learnt of several of the *Chaldees*; particularly of *Zabratius*, by whom he was purged from all the Defilements of his former Life. *Porph.* He was Disciple of *Nazaratus* the *Assyrian*. *Clem. Alex. ss. a.* He went to the *Persian Magi*. *Cic. de finibus v. Plin. xxv, 2.*

Of

Pythagoras's Age.

Pythagoras's Age.

Of them he learnt matters of their Religion, and way of Living. *D. Laert.* from *Lycus*. There he came to learn and understand the Jewish knowledge, particularly their Oniromancy. *Porphyrus* from *Diogen.*

Years before Christ.

Olympiads.

In his return from *Babylon*, he came to *Crete* to get *Minos's* Laws. *Justin*, v, 4. After his being with the *Chaldees* and *Magi*, he was there in *Crete* with *Epimenides*. *D. Laert.* viii, 3. He was purged by the Priests of *Morgus*, one of the *Idian Dactyli*. *Porph.* He went into the *Idæan Cave*. *Id.* The Priests there have the Verses that he made on the Sepulchre of *Jupiter*. *Id.*

After his return from *Babylon*, he came home to *Samos*. *Strabo* xvi. So *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Antipho*. There he open'd a School in a place call'd in *Antipho's* time, *Pythagoræ Hemicyclus*. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Antipho*. There he also had a Cave without the Town, into which he retir'd for his Studies. *Id.* and *Id.* This is the sum of what we read of the Life of *Pythagoras* for the space of 22 years, that is, as I account it, from the year before Christ 568, till the year 546 before Christ.

- 24 ABARIS Priest of *Apollo Hyperboreus*, 563, 2. 54, 2. came into Greece. *Enf. Chron. Scaligeri*, and two MSS. Other MSS bring him 10 years sooner. *Harpocration* from *Pindar* saith, he came in the time of *Cræsus*.

The

562. 54, 2, 3. The first COMEDY at Athens was made 24
by *Sufarion*, and acted upon a movable
Scaffold. Chron. Marmor.
561. 54, 3, 4. O. *Nabocollassar* or *Nebucadnezzar* King
of *Babylon*. Next his Son *Iluarodam* or
Evil Merodach. This year Jan. 11. was
his first *Thoth* according to *Ptolemee's* Ca-
non.
567. 54, 3, 4. CROESUS began his Reign of 14 years. 25
Herod. 1. 86.
PISISTRATUS was now Tyrant at Athens.
Chron. Marm.
O. *ÆSOP* died. *Ens.* Chron.
CLEOBULUS was yet living at *Lindus*, if
his Epistle to *Solon* be true, which we
have in *D. Laert.* 1. 93.
560. 55. O. *Astyages* King of *Media*. Next his 26
Son *Cyaxares*. *Xen.* 1. Scripture calls him
Darius the *Mede*. *Africanus* saith all agree
that *Cyrus* Son of *Cambyfes*, by *Mandane*,
Daughter of *Astyages*, began his Reign
over the *Persians* in *Olymp.* LV.
559. 55, 1, 2. O. *Iluarodam* kill'd by his Sister's Hus-
band *Neriglissoroor*. *Beros.* Next King
of *Babylon*; this *Neriglissoroor* or *Nergal-
sharezer*. His first *Thoth* was Jan. 10.
this year in *Ptol.* Canon.
559. 55, 1, 2. O. SOLON died in *Cyprus* this Spring. 27
See it proved in *VSS. Annals*. He died
2 *Pisistrati* *Plus.* in *Solon*.
557. 55, 4. N. SIMONIDES born this year; for he 30
was 80 years old in *Olymp.* LXXVI, when
Adimantus was Archon, as himself saith
and so Chron. Marm.
556. 56. O. PHALARIS died this year, if he be 31
gan, as is above-said, in *Olymp.* LII; or
if

Pyth. Agc. if in Olymp. LIII, 4, then he died seven Years before Christ. *Olympiads* 7
year later. The people of *Agrigentum* rose against him, and kill'd him: *Cic. Of- fic.* 11.

31 *Θ.* STESICHORUS died this year. *Suidas.* The lowest account of his death in *Enf. Chron.* is Olymp. LVI, 2. the highest is Olymp. LIV, 4.

This year *Euthydemus* was Archon at *Athens.* *Chron. Mart.* And the year that he was Archon, *Chilo* was Ephorus at *Lacedæmon.* *D. Laert.* 1. 68 from *Soficrates.*

Θ. *Laborofoarchod* Son of *Neriglifforoor* having reigned 9 Months after his Father. Next King of *Babylon*, *Nabonadius* or *Labynitus*, called *Belshazzar* in Scripture. His first *Thoth* was *Jan.* 9, according to *Ptol. Canon.*

36 *N.* CONFUTIUS born this year, the great Philosopher of the *Chineses.* *Martin. Hist. Sin.*

39 *Cræsus* past over the River *Halys* on a Bridge built by the art of *Thales.* *Herod.* 1. 75. and so lost himself and his Kingdom, after 14 years Reign. *Herod.* 1. 86. that was this year according to my account from *Herodotus.*

39 *Θ.* THALES died this year, saith *D. Laert.* 1. 38. and *Enf. Chron. Scal. & Pont.* from 4 MSS. He was born in Olymp. XXXV, and died 90 years old. *D. Laert.* 1. 38. 91 years old, saith *Chron. Paschale.*

39 ANAXIMANDER succeeded him in the *Ionic School.* *D. Laert. Proem.*

Now

Years
before
Christ.

Olym-
piads.

547.

58, 2.

Now flourish'd **LASUS** of *Hermione*,
that first wrote of Musick. Schol. *Arist.*
in *Vespas.*

Now **ANAXIMANDER** was famous, be-
ing 64 years old; and he died a little af-
ter, saith *Diog. Laert.* II, 2. from *Apollon-*
dorus. He flourish'd chiefly under *Poly-*
crates Tyrant of *Samos.* Ib. **XENOPHANES**
lived in his time. *D. Laert.* IX, 18. But
his Successor in the School was **ANAXI-**
MENES.

XANTHUS the *Lydian* Historian liv'd 41
at the time when *Sardes* was taken. *Sui-*
das.

546, 5.

58, 3.

Pythagoras, being 40 years old, and
seeing it was not for a Freeman to live in
his Country under the Tyranny of *Poly-*
crates, which was now stricter than for-
merly; thereupon thought of going into
Italy. *D. Laert.* and *Porph.* from *Aristo-*
xenus; and *Strabo* XIV. without the year.

In his way thither he went to *Delos*,
where he writ those Verses on *Apollon's*
Sepulchre. *Porph.* from *Diog.* He went
to *Lacedaemon* for the Laws of *Lycurgus.*
Iust. v, 4. He came to *Phlius* the an-
cient Country of his Family. There be-
ing asked by *Leo*, Tyrant of that City,
what Profession he was of, he said, of
none; but that he was a Philosopher. See
the rest in *Cic. Tusc. Qu.* I. or in *D. La-*
ert. Proem. 12. who saith this was at
Sicyon, and who makes *Leo* Tyrant of *Sicy-*
on and *Phlius.* Both *Cic.* and *D. Laert.* Pro-
em. have it from *Heraclides.* But *D.*
Laert. viii, 8. hath much the same story
from

75th Age: 40

of Pythagoras, and others.

I 1

Pythagoras's Age.

from *Soficrates*. *Pythagoras* went also to *Delphi* to give the more authority to his Laws, by pretending that he receiv'd them from *Theoclea*, or *Themistoclea*, the Priestess of *Apollo* in that place. *D. Laert.* viii. 7, 21. from *Aristoxenus*. *Porphyr* calls her *Aristoclea*.

Years before Christ.
Olympiads.

Being come into *Italy*, he lived there all the rest of his life. *Strabo* xiv. He taught there 40 years wanting one, saith *Jamb. c.* 36, who makes his whole Life very near 100 years. *Id.* He stay'd 20 years at *Croton*, then went to *Metapontum*, where he died. *Justin.* xx, 5. At *Croton* he began the *Italic School*, which grew old at *Metapontum*, saith *Clem. Alex.* 58. a. *Croton* was then in great Glory for having so many of *Pythagoras's* Scholars in it, among whom was *Milo* the most famous *Athleta*: *Strabo* iv.

Dion. Halicarn. saith *Pythagoras* was in his *xxiii*, four Generations after *Numa*. It is to be considered, whether he reckons from the beginning of his Reign, which was in *Olymp.* xvi, 3. or whether from the end, which was *Olymp.* xxvii, 1. *Plut.* in the Life of *Numa* saith, *Pythagoras* came into *Italy* almost five Ages after *Numa*. *Livy* 1. 18. saith, he came into *Italy* above 100 years after *Numa*; accounting no doubt from his death in 672 before Christ. *Livy* saith farther, it is certain, that in the time of *Servius Tullius*, *Pythagoras* had his Colleges of Disciples at *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, and *Croton*, as above-mention'd.

Now

545. 58, 4. Now the *Medes* were coming up against the *Ionians*, of which *Anaximenes* writes to *Pythagoras*, who was then at *Croton*, and had his house full of Scholars out of *Italy* and *Sicily*, if the Epistle be genuine. *D. Laert.* ii, 3. 42

544. 59. *PHERECYDES* was yet living. *D. Laert.* 43
1, 121. Now he flourish'd according to *Euf. Chron.* He lived in the time of my *Gentilis*, (that is, of *Servius Tullius*,) saith *Cicero*, *Tusc. Qu.* 1.

THEOGNIS the Poet of *Megara* flourish'd now. *Euf. Chron. Pontaci.*

543. 59, 4. *BIAS* was yet living, if that be true 46
which is said of him in *Herod.* 1. that he advised the *Iones* to leave their Country to the *Medes*, and go all to *Sardinia*.

540. 60. *Pythagoras* now flourish'd. *D. Laert.* 47
viii. 45.

Now also *XENOPHANES Colophonius* flourish'd *D. Laert.* ix. 20. of whom see before in 547, before Christ. He was now at least 80 years old, according to *Sextus Empiricus*, and *Clem. Alex.* from *Apollodor.* that place him in *Olymp.* xi. But he was a Writer till after he was 98 years old. *D. Laert.* ix. 19.

Now *IBYCUS*, the Poet of *Rhégium*, came to *Samos*. *Euf. Chron. Scalig. & Pontac.*

538. 60, 2, 3. After *Belshazzar's* being slain in the taking of *Babylon* by the Armies of *Darius* and *Cyrus*, the next King of *Babylon* was *Darius* or *Cyaxares* according to *Xenophon*. His Reign being short, he is omitted in the Canon, and there the next

Pythag. Age.

- next is *Cyrus*, whose *Thoth* was *Jan. 5*.
 O. *Cambyfes* Father of *Cyrus* in *Persia*, 536. 61.
 and O. *Cyaxares* in *Media*. *Xenophon*. VIII.
 according to whom this is the first of the
 seven years reign of *Cyrus* at *Babylon*.
 51 *Pythagoras* was now famous in *Italy*, 536. 61.
Thericles being Archon at *Athens*. *Diod.*
Sic. Excerpta. p. 241.
 The first TRAGEDY at *Athens*, was
 made by *Thespis*, and acted on a Wagon,
 in *Olymp*. LXI. *Suid*. See *Chron Marm*.
 53 O. *Servius Tullius* died this year. *Liv*. 534. 61, 3.
 1. 48. After whom the next Roman King
 was *Tarquinius Superbus*. In this *Tar-*
quin's time *Pythagoras* came into *Italy* ac-
 cording to *Cic. Tusc. Qu. 1.* and *A. Gel-*
lius, XVII, 21.
 55 *Euf. Chron.* hath this year *Polycrates*, 532. 62.
 and his two Brothers *Syloson* and *Panta-*
gnotus Tyrants together at *Samos*. But
Polycrates drove out his two Brothers soon
 after. Now in *Polycrates's* time *Pythago-*
ras flourish'd. *Tatian*. p. 174. *B. Clem. A-*
lex. 53. a. *Cyrl. contra Julian.* 11. In this
 Olympiad, in which *Eryxias* was Victor;
Pythagoras came into *Italy*, saith *Jambl. c.*
 7. He was now famous, saith *Euf. Chron*.
 58 *Cyrus* being now dead, his Son *Camby-* 529. 62, 3, 4.
ses is King of *Persia*. His first *Thoth* was
Jan. 3. according to *Ptol. Canon*.
 59 O. *PISISTRATUS* Tyrant of *Athens* died 528. 63.
 after a Reign of 33 years, tho' twice in-
 terrupted in that time. *Arist. Polit.* v. 12.
 Next was his Son *HIPPARCHUS*, a great
 lover of Learning. He first brought *Ho-*
mer's Poems to *Athens*. *Plato* in *Hipparcho*.
 Ac-

527. 63, 1, 2. According to *Justin*, *xx*, 5. *Pythagoras* 60 after he had been 20 years in *Italy*, removed from *Crotas* to *Metapontum*, and died there. It was at *Metapontum*, that as the *Fablers* say, having taken his Disciple *Abaris's* Arrow, he rode upon it in the Air from thence to *Tauraninium* in one day, though some days sailing distant from one another. *Porph.* and *Jamb.* They tell us, that there at *Metapontum*, he had a noble house, which was afterwards the Temple of *Ceres*, and a School, which was call'd the *Museum*. *Jamb.* c. 30.
525. 63, 3, 4. O. *Amasis* King of *Egypt*. He died 62 *Olymp.* *LXIII*, 3. when *Cambyses* was coming against *Egypt*. *Diod. Sic.* 1. The next King *Psammetus* after 6 Months was kill'd, and *Egypt* conquer'd by *Cambyses*. *Herod.* *iii*.
525. 63, 4. N. the Poet *Aschylus* was born. Chr. 62 *Marm.*
523. 64, 2. O. *POLYCRATES* Tyrant of *Samos* died 64 a few days before *Cambyses* King of *Persia*. *Herod.* *iii*. 120. about U. C. 238. *Plin.* *xxxiii*, 1.
522. 64, 2, 3. O. *Cambyses* King of *Persia*. Next King *Smerdis* *Magus* was kill'd after seven Months. Next was *Darius* Son of *Hystaspes*. His first *Thoth* was 521. *Jan.* 1. according to *Ptolemy's* Canon.
520. 65. N. The Poet *PINDAR* was born. *Suidas*. 67
515. 66, 2. O. *PHÉRECYDES* died now, for he was 72 born *Olymp.* *XLV*. *Suid.* and lived 85 years. *Lucian* in *Macroh.* He was eat up with Lice. *Atist.* *Hist. Animal.* *vi*. 30 and that for his Blasphemy. *2 Tim.* *ii*, 28.

Pythagoras's Age.

Serpents came out of his Body. *Plin.* vii. 5. Years before Christ.
Pythagoras, who had been his Disciple, now hearing that he was dying in *Delos*, went out of *Italy* thither, and did all he could to recover him: and when he was dead, bury'd him as his Father, and then return'd into *Italy*. *Diod. Sic. Excerpt.* That he dy'd in *Delos*, see *Apul. Florid.* ii. *Ælian* iv. Hist. 28. *Porph.* and *Jambl.* *Duris Samius* saith he died in *Samos*, follow'd by *D. Laert.* i. 119. where also he quotes *Heraclides* for it. *Porphyrus* saith, that *Pythagoras* went to *Delos* from *Samos*, and return'd to *Samos*. But he saith afterwards, that it was in *Pythagoras's* Absence on this occasion at *Delos*, that *Cylon* rais'd the Mob, v. *infra* 497; 6. before Christ. (These things do not agree.)

Olympiads.

74 Θ. HIPPARCHUS kill'd by *Harmodius* 513. and *Aristogiton*. *Thucyd.* i. and vi. Then was *Pythagoras* in *Italy*. *A. Gell.* xvii. 21.

66, 4.

78 By *Pythagoras's* advice the people of 509. *Croton* would not deliver up some of *Sybaris* that had fled to their Altars for Protection against their own people. Whereupon a War follow'd, in which 300000 of the *Sybarites* were overcome by *Milo* with 100000 of *Croton*, who after this Victory destroy'd the City of *Sybaris*. *Diod. Sic.* Olymp. lxxxiii. 3. where he saith, this happen'd 58 years before, and 5 years, that is in all 63 years before. Therefore I place it in Olymp. lxvii. 4. This *Milo* was Disciple of *Pythagoras*, and had been 6 times Victor in the Olympic Games. *ib.* and often at the other publick Games.

67, 4.

C

When

508. 68. When *Brutus* deliver'd Rome, *Pythagoras* was yet in Italy, saith *Cic. Tusc. Qu. iv. Solinus c. 16.* by mistake saith, then he came into Italy.
- 506, 5. 68, 3. 69. *Pythagoras* died. *Euf. Chron.* in 81 2 MSS. having lived 80 years, according to his own account of the four parts of mans life, consisting each of 20 years. *D. Laert. i. 44.* from *Heracleides*. This account of his Age *Menage* takes to be the most likely, because *Lucian* doth not reckon *Pythagoras* among the long-liv'd men; as probably he would if *Pythagoras* had lived 90 years, as most say, according to *D. Laert. lb.* much more, if he had lived, as *Jamblichus* saith, very near 100; or as *Tzetzes* says, perhaps from *Jamblichus*, 100 wanting one; or according to the nameless Writer in *Photii Biblioth. ccxlix.* 104 years; or according to a nameless Writer in *Galen's Works* 117 years.
- But if the Reader is not yet tir'd, I will go on with him to the end of the 90 years, which is as far as I see any ground.
- 505, 4. 68, 4. Here the Death of *Pythagoras* is plac'd in one MS of *Euf. Chron.*
504. 69. *HERACLITUS* now flourish'd. *D. Laert. 83 ix.* beginning.
- PARMENIDES* now flourish'd. *D. Laert. ix, 23.*
- Now *Cynæthus Chius* first rhapsodied *Homer's Verses.* *Schol. in Pindar. Nem. B.*
502. 69, 2. *HECATÆUS* the Historian flourish'd; 85 for now he endeavour'd to dissuade *Aristagoras* from taking Arms against *Darius King of Persia.* *Herodot. v. 36.*

- 87 N. ANAXAGORAS the Philosopher 500. 70.
born this year. D. Laert. ii, 7. *Apollodorus*. This *Apollodorus* *Demo-*
critus saying of *Pythagoras* that he was 40
years younger than *Pythagoras*. D. Laert.
v. 41. for *Pythagoras* was born Olymp.
LXXX. 16.
- 89 *Marian's Copy of Euf. Chron.* pla- 498, 7. 70, 3.
ces the death of *Pythagoras* this year.
- 90 G. PYTHAGORAS died *Euf. Chron. Scal.* 497, 6. 70, 4.
and *Pontac.* from 4 MSS. Most say he
lived 90 years. D. Laert. iii. 44. The
accounts of his death are various. The
likeliest is that which we have in the
Excerpta of *Diod. Sic. Paphlary*, and
Jambli. c. 35. They tell how one *Cylon*
of *Croton*, a rich, ambitious, boisterous
man, having offer'd himself to be taken
into the College, and being refus'd, was
thereby so enraged, that he got the Mob
together, and fell upon *Milo's* house,
when *Pythagoras* and his Disciples were
all there together, and burnt the house,
and all that were in it, except two or
three that narrowly escaped. Some say
Pythagoras was one of them that were
burnt there. Others say, he escaped out
of the Fire, and was kill'd in pursuit. O-
thers, that he fled to *Caulonia*, thence to
Locri, thence to *Tarentum*; but being
nowhere receiv'd, at last he went to *Me-*
tapontum, and there got into the *Muses*
Temple, where being kept from Victuals
40 days, he was starved. *Hermippus*, whom
Josephus calleth the most eminent Writer
of *Pythag.* Life, hath a most unlikely story
of

Years
before
Christ.

Olympiads.

of his death. He was that being
with the Greeks against the
fans, and his being worsted, he
was taken prisoner. He would not
run over to the Enemy, but was kill'd
by the Enemy. There is an Epi-
gram on his Death, according to his Sto-
ry, which I think is more proper for a
Poet than an Historian.

After his Death, those of his Disciples
that were living, are said to have been
dispersed into Greece, and the neighbour-
ing Countries. And yet his Family is said
to have continued at or about Croton. His
Wife *Themista* was born there, according to
Clem. Alex. from *Diogenes*, and *D. Laert.*
and *Suidas*. But *Porphyrus* says she was of
Crete. Some say that she, and her Son
Telauges, revived or continued his School.
Others say it was done by *Aristaeus* of *Cro-*
ton, that married his Daugh. *Theano*. His
Son *Arimnestus* is mention'd by *Porphyrus*
from *Duris Samius*, and said to have taught
Democritus the famous Philosopher. *D. La-*
ert. mentions his Son *Marmachus*, and *D.*
Damo. *Suidas* seems to call that Son *Mis-*
sarchus, and also mentions his *D. Arignotus*
and *Myia*. Another *D.* of his is call'd *Sa-*
ra. But of all these we have nothing that
looks like a Certainty, in my opinion.

F I N I S.

ERRATA

p. vii. l. 2. have also from, p. ix. l. 12. for LVII, r. LXII. p.
3. l. 1. for 5-2. r. 32. p. 10. l. 12. 41 should be in lin. 15. p.
11. l. 22. r. 2245.

N. is here put for the Birth, and
O. for the Death of any Person.

27